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Mr. Bush's Shooting War

by Murray N. Rothbard

On January 16, 1991, a day which shall live in infamy, George Bush finally got his cherished shooting war. The United States launched an avalanche of mass murder and mass destruction upon a small, impoverished third-world country. Bush and the military finally got to uncork their high-tech devastation; and the military-industrial complex, secure in the vanishing of the short-lived "peace dividend," can stand tall once more. By personalizing the war and narrowing it to Saddam Hussein, Bush has managed to make Americans forget about the countless number of Iraqi civilians he is going to maim and murder. Or maybe there is nothing to forget: one reason why a U.S. war is always depressing to libertarians is because each new war is yet another demonstration that many Americans are *only* concerned about American lives and body bags, and care not a fig for the annihilation of citizens of other countries.

George Bush was, of course, able to maneuver us into a shooting war by aggressively and viciously, in barracks-room language, denying Saddam anyway out, any compromise, any avenue of negotiation. "Just get out, unconditionally.... He doesn't need any face.... I'm going to kick his ass." What head of State, ever, is going to submit under such terms? Every promising initiative by a third party was shot down brusquely by Bush; even the last-minute proposal by France that the U.N. simply implement *its own* resolutions by holding a Mid-East conference (as suggested by Tariq Aziz) was shot down quickly by Bush as "linkage" and "rewarding the aggressor."

George Bush worked his evil will in the face of a sharply divided country and of an anti-war movement of unprecedented scope at this early stage of a U.S. war. He was aided and abetted in this course by a supine Congress. The iniquity of Congress was bipartisan. What happened to the conservative Republicans, so defiant in opposition to Bush's tax increase? They folded totally in the face of the power of the President. As for the Democrats, led by George Mitchell and Tom Foley — they deliberately waited cravenly to debate until the last minute, when they could effectively be clobbered by the cry to support the President in his last hours of negotiation. And when they finally did allow a debate, they refused to use any muscle to rally the Democrats behind them. In that way, they could support the President, while keeping their voting

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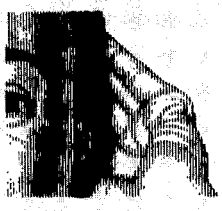

THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

The goofballs and scamsters at ISIL (formerly the Libertarian International) should latch on to one of their own: one Joseph Matondo, who calls himself "Leader of the *Parti Libertarian du Congo*." It seems that Matondo is ready to set up a massive Libertarian Party in the Popular Republic of the Congo (formerly French Congo) and make a big splash in the world. All he needs is (you guessed it) some scratch from the wealthy U.S. movement, that, and some "documentation" so he and his entourage can hotfoot it to the U.S. in case things become too dicey on the Congo River. All Matondo and the PLC need is 20 million French Congo francs, but don't worry guys, that's only 67 thousand smackers in U.S. dollars. Joe Matondo and ISIL are made for each other. Write to Joe at Pointe-Noire, Republique Populaire du Congo.

(Cont. next page,col. 1)

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(THE EAR cont. from P.1)

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When top Left-Libertarian scamsters join in on some project—watch out! The latest: they've gone Russky, getting in on the *perestroika* game. Veteran losers like Vince Miller, head of ISIL; Don Ernsberger, assistant chairman of the LP; Dave Bergland and wife Sharon Ayres; LP vice-chairwoman Mary Gingell; and direct-mail Jonah Perry Willis; have all formed Freedoms Foundation, USSR. The idea: once *enough money* is raised, to set up Soviet defector Victor Davidoff, now languishing in New Jersey, in a Moscow office to direct libertarian operations there. Hot tip from my most reliable Moscow-defector pal: Davidoff is Bad News. In other words, just the sort of person you would expect to throw in with that group.

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The Randy Langhenry-edited *LP News* is beginning to sink to the old Karl Hess level. The lead article, by "scholar" Don Ernsberger in the January issue, announces a new "libertarian rating" system for Congress and unveils the truly stunning news that there are no libertarians on Capitol Hill! Only what the first R calls Modal Libertarians could present this as big news. What's the next giant step, Don? Are you going to tell us that George Bush is no libertarian either?

Actually, the Ernsberger index, and the much-vaunted Nolan Chart on which it is based, are worthless, because while charting personal and economic liberty, they leave out foreign policy. Modals of course, are the sort of people who think that the fate of 2 Live Crew is far more important than war and peace.

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Also in the January *LP News* is an article by Kathleen Richman, wife of Kochtopusian troublemaker Sheldon Richman. After being out of the LP for years, Kathy curiously came back into the party in late 1989. Her motivation? Clearly do-re-mi, since she immediately began to agitate for her old post as *LP News* editor. She couldn't beat out retired editor Karl Hess' best buddy (and business partner), Randy Langhenry, but she did get as consolation prize the editorship of the Liberty Pledge newsletter, sent to special contributors to the LP.

In the 1990 elections, Kathy was campaign manager for the LP's nominee for D.C. Mayor, Dr. Nancy Lord. Kathy's article in the *LP News* is a glowing account of just how wonderful, and how *successful*, Nancy's campaign was. Only if you read Kathy's article v-e-r-y carefully do you find the rather important info that this wonderfully successful campaign got less than 1% of the vote. (She says 1%, but it was actually 0.56%.) One would think that the vote total would have some significance in evaluating a campaign; but according to Kathy, anyone who thinks that way is "extremely naive and short-sighted."

Well, come to think of it, Kathy, you're right. I *am* being naive. Because I don't use quite the same criteria for judging a political campaign that you do, such as the amount of dough collected from the suckers, in this case, $56,000.

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Attorney James Ostrowski, author of an anti-drug war monograph for the Cato Institute, was hired full time, and then canned shortly afterwards. It seems that during one of prez Ed Crane's 10-minute hates on the two Rs, Jim dissented. He was already in trouble for citing Rothbardian Hans Hermann-Hoppe in a law review article. He was out the door.

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Last month Ear mentioned that *Liberty*'s "philosopher" Ethan O. Waters was actually the magazine's owner Bill Bradford. He also has at least one other pseudonym: Chester Alan Arthur.

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Bill complains in a memo to *Liberty* editors that our Joe Melton misspelled some of their names. Bill, these guys are so obscure that only their mothers, their creditors, and of course, you, their childhood buddy, even *know* their names, let alone how to spell them.

* * * * *

A businessman writes to Nick Dunbar, executive director of the LP: "I cannot share *LP News* with friends, including my local newspaper editor, when it boasts of a member distributing free condoms in Red Square, Moscow, as some kind of 'Victory for Liberty.' And I hesitate to attend your convention in the fear that you may have prostitutes, [weirdos], and dope addicts as featured speakers. You might even toss out free condoms!"

* * * * *

The Kochtopus is turning ever more globalist. The new issue of the David Koch-funded *Reason* magazine features neocons Joshua Muravchik, Charles Krauthammer, and Richard Perle—welfare statists and globalist warmongers all—promoting "*the New World Order*"! Watch for more curtsies to this power by neocon editor Ginnie "Politically Correct" Postrel.

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In his new book *Breaking*

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Barriers, black columnist Carl Rowan reveals that left-libertarian hero Martin Luther King, Jr., was recorded in a tryst with his fellow Christian minister, Ralph David Abernathy. "Come on over here, you big black [perpetrator of maternal incest]," said Marty to Ralph, "and let me [perform fellatio on you]."

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A political scientist writing a book on the American Right was given a copy of *Liberty*'s interview with Cato's Ed Crane. In it, Ed calls the two Rs culturally "neo-fascist," a Marxoid smear, while praising "sexual diversity" as a central tenet of libertarianism. The professor, who will quote extensively from the interview in his forthcoming book, calls Crane "demented, deviant, and opportunistic."

*****

More than "sexual diversity" separates the Ed Crane left-libertarians from the Rothbard-Rockwell right-libertarians: there's also Political Correctness.

Crane is left-libertarianism's "Mr. P.C.," seeking out and denouncing "racism, sexism, and homophobia" wherever he finds them, and probably Eurocentrism, lookism, ableism, ageism, and speciesism too. As he told the *New York Times* (in explaining why he deep-sixed old friend Charles Murray): P.C. "social taboos" must be maintained.

The Ear hates to admit it, but Ed's right. Right-libertarians *are* anti-P.C. There's not a "sensitive" bone in our bodies.

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Our publisher Burt Blumert says "the Ear is the best-read feature" of this publication. Murray and Lew, eat your hearts out! ●

(Bush's War... cont. from P.1)

records clear in case the war should eventually turn sour.

In the highly touted and self-congratulatory Great Debate on the eve of war, Congressman after Congressman got up to admit that the mail from his constituents was running 9 to 1 or 11 to 1 against the war resolution, but he was, blah blah blah, voting for it anyway. Why? Amidst all the congratulations, why did no one ask what kind of "democracy" are we living under, when the Congressmen are willing to defy so blatantly the expressed will of the public?

The Bush Administration and its stooges operated on one and only one dimwit theory.

Hawk Theory Disproved

Throughout the preparation period until January 15, the Bush Administration and its stooges operated on one and only one dimwit theory, which they intoned endlessly: That if Bush could only send a "clear message" that the U.S. will be ultra-tough and will exert maximum force against Iraq on passing the deadline, Saddam Hussein will certainly turn tail and leave Kuwait. As time went on, Saddam showed no signs of buckling, Bush kept reiterating that "he must not have gotten the message clearly...he doesn't understand the message." Indeed, the decisive argument that convinced the pro-Bush Democrats in Congress was that, especially at that late date, a defeat would weaken or negate that "message." Hence, as Doug Ireland pointed out in the *Village Voice* (Jan. 22), "the debate was conducted almost entirely in Orwellian terms: those who voted war spoke for peace...." Ireland also pointed to the "bilge" of the *New York Times* editorial after the debate that "Congress has armed the President, first and foremost, for peace." Yeah sure. And that's what we got, right?

In vain did Tariq Aziz, in his eloquent but totally unheeded press conference at Geneva, rebut that Iraq understood the "message" all too well that "We know very well what the President is saying. We too watch CNN."

And so Saddam Hussein did not surrender, did not quit, and thus successfully knocked the Bush-hawk theory into a cocked hat. Did Congress, after the deadline of January 15, rush to recognize this fact and rescind its approval of Bush's war, as it logically and morally should have done? To the contrary, Congress capped its abject and spineless role by rushing to pass a unanimous resolution, after the war began, commending George Bush! O judgment! thou art fled to brutish beasts, and men have lost their reason.

The only war hawk who momentarily saw the light was none other than Henry Kissinger. The night the shooting war started, Kissinger, in a rare moment of self-criticism on television, admitted that he was greatly surprised that, after all the ultra-toughness on the part of

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the U.S., Saddam Hussein had not cut and run.

Well, I have news for Kissinger and the other war hawks, to the extent that their toughness-surrender model was not simply a coverup for a cherished war. Answer me this, war hawks: when, in history, when did one State, faced with belligerent, ultra-tough ultimatums by another, when did that State ever give up and in effect surrender—before any war was fought? When? Certainly not the Japanese, who responded to Secretary of State Cordell Hull's "get out of China" ultimatum of November 27, 1941, by going to war at Pearl Harbor. Then who? I can't think of a single instance. My old friend, Dr. David Gordon, Mr. Erudition, mentioned an instance in the nineteenth century when Belgium caved in to a French ultimatum, but that proves my point: you really have to reach. No head of State with any pride or self-respect, or who wishes to keep the respect of his citizens, will surrender to such an ultimatum. The whole point, is, that by belligerently sealing off any face-saving or way out for Saddam, the Bush Administration in effect insured that war would come.

Television commentators on the Congressional debate observed that the two sides had two contrasting models of previous wars in their minds when they cast their votes. The pro-Bushers were operating on the "Hitler appeasement" model, the antis on the "Vietnam War" model. The odd thing is that no one, in Congress or out, has referred to a far more apposite model: World War I, the monstrous granddaddy of all the major wars of the incredibly bloody twentieth century. In World War I, no one "appeased" anyone else, everyone was ultra-hawkish, mobilized, and hanged tough, and the result was a momentous, totally disastrous, and useless four-year war that devastated Europe beyond repair, and ineluctably set the stage for the victories of Communism and Nazism, neither of which would have gotten anywhere if peace had prevailed. War-hawk theory is not only grievously and evidently incorrect, it has the blood of countless millions on its hands.

Will the conspicuous failure of this theory in the case of Saddam discredit it at long last? Hah! That'll be the day. To quote the great Mencken in a different but similar context: it will happen "on the Tuesday following the first Monday of November preceding the Resurrection Morn."

Neither was World War II in Europe a case where toughness worked. On the contrary, Hitler disregarded the English guarantee to Poland that brought England and France into the German-Polish war in September 1939. And even if that failure can be dismissed as sending "mixed signals" to Hitler after Munich, no country could have had a tougher and hawkier foreign policy than Colonel Josef Beck and his ruling junta of Polish colonels in the late 1930s. Geopolitically, the new country of Poland faced the two Great Powers of Germany and Soviet Russia on its borders. Any sort of rational foreign policy at the time would have required Poland to be friendly and dovish with *at least one*, and preferably both, of these powers to insure national survival. Instead, in a burst of hawkish idiocy that should remain as a permanent alarm bell against a tough, hawkish foreign policy, the Polish colonels stubbornly refused to negotiate at all on the substantial territorial demands or grievances of either power, thus assuring Polish doom for half a century.

To return to the present war, let us finally assess the hawk theory by indulging in a lovely hypothetical: suppose that some miracle occurred, and a superpower United Nations was sending the United States a series of stern resolutions ordering U.S. troops out of Panama unconditionally, and by January 15. As the U.S. refuses to pull out, suppose, too, that the U.N. sends a series of "clarifying" messages, warning Bush of crushing consequences and maximum force if the U.S. does not pull out, replete with comments that the U.S. must not be rewarded for its aggression against Panama, that no excuses will be entertained, and that if Bush does not pull out in accordance with U.N. orders, Perez de Cuellar will "kick his ass." Does anyone imagine for a single second that Bush would comply? But, *why not*, if the hawk theory is true?

A Cover for Gorby

And in the meanwhile, as all U.S. power and attention are focused on Saddam, Gorby unsheathes his claws, forgets about "democracy," and launches a crackdown against the gallant Baltic states. What is Bush's reaction? Does he show at least as much concern for "freedom" and the "rights of small nations" in the Baltic as he does for a phony "nation" that is merely an oil company wholly-owned by the Sabah kleptocracy? Fat chance. No, with Gorby, Bush is the essence of politeness, tapping his wrist with faint regrets and mild hopes for improvement. No, nothing must be allowed to disturb the billions of dollars that Bush is shovelling into the maw of the Gorbachev regime, helping to fasten repression once again upon the Baltics and the

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peoples of the Soviet Union. To say that this is a "double standard" is scarcely enough to describe the shamefulness of the Bush foreign policy. Truckling to monstrous dictatorial regimes such as the Chinese and the Soviets, while trumpeting the high morality of our defense of "small nations" and the New World Order in the case of Kuwait, is simply sickening.

And it is not enough for neo-conservatives like Frank Gaffney to call (on *Crossfire*) for a hawkish policy toward *both* the U.S.S.R. and Iraq. In the first place, even as crazed a war-hawk as Gaffney only wants all-out war against Iraq; against the Soviet Union, he only wants diplomatic pressure and economic sanctions. But more importantly, the whole point of the Bush foreign policy is that the establishment and enforcement of his beloved New World Order *requires* the support and consent of China and the U.S.S.R., both of whom have permanent veto power on the U.N. Security Council. American *de facto* dominance under the de jure cover of the United Nations and the "world community" requires the U.S. to purchase the consent of these two still-monstrous regimes.

The seemingly eerie coincidence of Gorby cracking down on the Baltics with the Soviets cracking down on the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 under cover of the Anglo-French-Israeli war against Egypt, has already been noted widely. But it is no mere coincidence. A more interesting question is this: was there a private agreement between Bush and Gorby at one of their summits that Bush would look the other way from a Gorby crackdown if Gorby loyally supported us on Iraq? It sure looks like it.

Particularly heroic in the Congressional vote was Senator Mark Hatfield (R.,Ore.).

This suspicion has met with the usual barrage of "paranoia" and "conspiracy theory of history." Conspiracy analysis is hardly a "theory of history"; the analyst is trying to make sense out of seemingly peculiar or senseless actions, by postulating rational, if cynical, motives on the part of historical actors. Since the archives won't be opened for decades, we have to proceed in political life on our best guesses, and such guesses can only be enriched by considering plausible causal theories. In this case, our "conspiracy" analysis fits all the facts and has terrific predictive value. And as for "paranoia," I like to recall the definition of an old friend of mine, "today's 'paranoia' is tomorrow's headlines."

Does no one remember our pre-Cold War Soviet policy? I refer, of course, to our World War II alliance with Stalin, and to its fruits in such pro-Soviet deals as Potsdam, Yalta, and the murderous Operation Keelhaul. And above all, that reached its culmination in the United Nations, designed to bring about a New World Order run jointly by the U.S. and U.S.S.R. In the new post-Cold War Era, it is precisely that self-same New World Order that is now being trumpeted by George Bush.

I am of course not calling for a revival of the Cold War against the Gorby regime. What I am proposing is simply old-fashioned "isolationism": that is, a policy that is neither engaged in warfare against the Soviet Union nor busily subsidizing it. That is, a foreign policy where the U.S. does not spend its time trying to decide which countries are "bad guys" whom we war against, as versus "good guys" upon whom we lavish all manner of favors and aid.

It would be nice, too, if the Bush Administration ceased all the hokum about our "Coalition partners" throughout the world. As Tariq Aziz pointed out, the pitiful contributions to the war effort of our "partners" were purchased by the U.S. with "billions and billions of dollars" of aid, that is, of the money of American taxpayers.

Random Notes on the War

Particularly heroic in the Congressional vote was Senator Mark Hatfield (R.,Ore.). Not only was Hatfield one of only two Republican Senators to vote against the war resolution (the other was Charles Grassley of Iowa), but he *also* voted against the Democratic resolution, because he is opposed to the Democratic policy of sanctions. In short, Hatfield, a prominent anti-Vietnam War dove, was against the U.S. being in the Persian Gulf to begin with. Hatfield has also long been the most ardent opponent of conscription in the U.S. Congress.

All this reminds me that during 1970-71, Senator Hatfield was seriously contemplating running against President Nixon in 1972. During that era, I and several other

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libertarians met the Senator in his office, during which he flatly declared himself to be an old Taft Republican and a "libertarian." At one point, he spontaneously assured us that "I have not, like Faust, sold my soul to politics." When I set forth the "New Libertarian Creed" in the *New York Times* (Feb. 9, 1971), in reply to an attack on libertarianism by Bill Buckley, Hatfield read it into the *Congressional Record* (Feb. 24), and also wrote a favorable review of my *Power and Market* (*The Individualist*, Feb. 1971).

At any rate, nostalgia has now been greatly reinforced by Hatfield's current vote; his deviations from economic liberty in the past two decades surely pale in comparison.

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I was glad to see a powerful article against the imminent war by my old friend, New York Reform Democrat and quasi-libertarian George N. Spitz. ("Why Not Let Iraq Save Face?" *USA Today*, Jan. 15.) Spitz wrote that "as an Orthodox Jew who respects Torah (biblical) values, I am distressed by the belligerence of Israel and many U.S. Jews....I was surprised and gratified when a majority of Jewish members of Congress voted against the resolutions authorizing military force." Typically, Spitz was once a member of the Libertarian Party of New York, but was driven out by the gaggle of youthful Modals because he wasn't "pure."

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It is all too possible that the last-minute decision of Brooklyn's Representative Charles Schumer to vote against the war was influenced by a predicted reapportionment primary battle with fellow-Brooklyn Democratic Stephen Solarz, a Vietnam dove who rivals even Senator D'Amato (R., N.Y.) in his thirst for Iraqi blood.

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After a night and day of merciless pounding by U.S. missiles, Iraq finally got off seven SCUD missiles in the direction of Israel. They landed in the cities of Haifa and Tel Aviv, and yet did not succeed in killing a single Israeli. *This* is the great military threat to the United States, against which we had to take action now? Who's been conning us?

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Whatever happened to our alleged original purpose in dispatching U.S. troops to Arabia: to save Saudi Arabia from allegedly imminent attack? Remember when the role of the troops was supposed to be "purely defensive"? Does anyone really think now that Saddam had the slightest intention of invading Saudi Arabia?

Whatever happened to the defensive posture of the U.S.? I'll remind you: just *two days* after the November elections, the defensive was abruptly abandoned by Mr. Bush, who announced the doubling of our troops in the Gulf, and the objective of kicking Saddam out of Kuwait. No wonder that the *Village Voice*, in its trenchant editorial against the war, calls Bush "our prevaricating president." And more important, we see why the *Voice*, in this context, cites Gore Vidal's perceptive remark that "America is a country that has elections instead of politics" (*Village Voice*, Jan. 22), that is, phony circuses instead of exercising genuine choices.

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No sooner did the war start, when those sports writers who aspire to become pundits called for the closing down of the football play-offs and the Super Bowl. No matter that sports (except, of course, for the Olympics) went on as usual during all of World War II. No matter that closing down sports or other entertainment would add not one whit to the war effort. All it would do is to inflict unnecessary pain upon the American people. But that, of course, is the main aim in life of left-liberal pundits, in or out of sports. The alleged purpose of war is to safeguard people in continuing their daily pursuits; those pursuits then, should always proceed as normally as possible. But, as Jackie Mason likes to say: "Every *schmuck* becomes a philosopher"!

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In the first days of the war, when every channel featured wall-to-wall coverage, I quickly evolved my own personal rules for when to switch channels. I hit the remote control button at (1) pickups from the man-in-the-street (knew nothing); (2) interviews with any politician (ugh!); (3) official U.S. pool coverage (shots of U.S. planes landing in a dark airfield); (4) any pictures of Wolf Blitzer (is there *any* TV channel or radio station that does not feature this ex-Mossadnik?)

Calvin Trillin, Political Analyst

Once again, Calvin Trillin, left-liberal political humorist, is revealed to be one of our most perceptive political analysts. Trillin has enunciated two keen, if chilling, political rules: One is that "sooner or later, every President makes you nostalgic for his predecessor." I now have to confess that George Bush is making me yearn for Ronald Reagan. Why? Not only did Reagan move to end the Cold War, he never got us into a war in the Middle East. Or

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rather, after a kamikaze attack killed two hundred Marines, Reagan, quietly but quickly, making no noise about it, got us clean out of Lebanon!

The second insight of Trillin was an explanation of why Reagan was successful whereas Carter was not. Because Reagan launched a very big, and therefore successful, invasion of a very small country (Grenada.) In contrast, Carter launched a very small and therefore unsuccessful, invasion of a very big country (Iran.) George Bush, Trillin wrote, followed up the Reagan course by a very big invasion of the next smallest country (since he couldn't very well re-invade Grenada): Panama. So is Iraq *this* year's Bush invasion? Who's next?

Conclusion: Rally Round "Our Commander in Chief"?

The orthodox line, even among many critics of the war, is that, at least for a while, or "until the body bags start coming home," we must rally round "our" commander-in-chief. Sorry folks, I ain't rallyin'. In the first place, he is not "our" commander-in-chief. The Constitution makes him the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, and as yet, we have not been conscripted. I do not propose to be a cheer leader for Mr. Bush's immoral, unjust, and unnecessary war, now or later. I stand with the great John Randolph of Roanoke, patron saint of the new paleo John Randolph Club, who set forth his principles thus:

"Love of peace, hatred of offensive war, jealousy of the state governments toward the general government; a dread of standing armies; a loathing of public debt, taxes, and excises; tenderness for the liberty of the citizen; jealousy, Argus-eyed jealousy, of the patronage of the President."

Or, let H.L. Mencken have the last word, with this bit of perceptive doggerel:

When after many battles past,
Both, tired with blows, make peace at last,
What is it, after all, the people get?
Why, taxes, widows, wooden legs, and debt. ●

"Date Rape" on Campus

by M.N.R.

A lot of strange things are happening on college campuses these days, and one of them is a great deal of kvetching about the alleged epidemic of "date rape." William Celis 3rd's special report to the *New York Times* on the subject (1/2/91) is best summed up by its subtitle: "Agony on Campus: What is Rape?" To a libertarian, or indeed to any sensible person, there is no problem: if the sex was coercive, and took place against the will of one of the parties, then it was rape and if not, not. If it was, you call in the gendarmes, and if it wasn't, you don't. So what's the big problem?

As in so many other aspects of human "relationships," the feminists are setting out to destroy romance.

But to the current generation of college students, things are very different. One says; "it's such a fuzzy topic," and another adds, "it's easy to look at sex and second-guess." There follows a lot of guff about how the feminist movement has succeeded in alerting countless coeds about this terrible problem. But why should it take feminist theoreticians to inform a girl that she has been raped? Why is this topic "fuzzy," when to this reactionary it appears clear-cut? What's going on here?

Reading on, we find that many men are confused about these rising protests by college females. The guys charge that "women with whom they have had sex did not say 'no' and did not physically resist, yet later complained of date rape." Other "angrier" men claim that "in some cases women have encouraged their advances." But the feminists lash back that these are "after-the-fact excuses." Instead, "sexual intercourse, they argue, should proceed from clear mutual consent."

Now we're getting somewhere. For whether or not "encouragement" took place, it strikes me as crystal-clear that if the girl did not say no and did not physically resist, then sex did indeed take place by "clear mutual consent." What do the feminists want? Will they only be satisfied if (a) the two parties sign an express consent form before the act, and then (b) sign another one immediately after? And have them both notarized on the spot, with forms sent in triplicate to their respective attorneys and to the county clerk? If so, the notary publics in college towns are in for a thriving business, plus some Peeping Tom (or Tomasina) opportunities on the side.

The point is that, as in so many other aspects of human

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"relationships," the feminists are setting out to destroy romance (if that word is not yet obsolete), which thrives on spontaneity, and on implicit, non-verbal mutual understanding. Which is also the problem with the current mania for condoms and other elaborate birth-control machinations.

A clue to the peculiar fuzziness of the current analysis of rape can be found in the assumptions of the famed Koss study, headed by the shrink Mary Koss, now of the University of Arizona. In trying to find out the extent of rape on the college campuses, Koss *defined* sexual assault as the use of force *or* "intercourse as a result of intentionally getting the woman intoxicated." And we find various references to women being reluctant to report the "rape" because one or usually both parties were "drunk" at the time.

Are we now to include in rape any sex taking place after liquor?

Well, now, drinking indeed! Are we now to include in rape any sex taking place after liquor is imbibed? Isn't everyone familiar with the old poem and the social reality it reported: "Candy is dandy, but liquor is quicker?" Everyone is responsible for whatever he or she imbibes, unless the guy spiked the girl's drink without her knowledge (not mentioned in any of these cases) and everyone is responsible for their own actions, liquor or not. Come off it, ladies; "date rape" my foot!

Ah, now we see what is going on here. For generations now, girls, while consenting implicitly to sex, have wanted to assuage their guilt by being able to tell themselves afterward that they had not planned the action, and that they were merely "swept off their feet" by the charm of the guy and/or the magic of the moment. Hence, as all implicitly consenting parties have been long aware, the use of liquor is a marvelous catalyst of this feet-sweeping. Now, along comes our baneful feminist theoreticians who have been able to use their besotted theories to (a) free girls, once and for all, from guilt for their actions, and (b) to load that guilt onto the poor, hapless male population.

The *New York Times* article details one of the cases. During a brainwashing re-education dorm lecture on date rape at Lehigh University recently, a male student was asked by a dorm official if he had ever committed rape. First saying "hell, no," the student was later talked by the lecturer into "realizing" that he had, and that "not saying no" was not sufficient to establish consent. (There was no notarized agreement!) Later, the poor guy, admitting that he was "very confused," wrote a self-criticism article to the student paper confessing his sins: "I was uninformed and incorrect in my actions," he groveled. Yeah, and I bet he now loves Big Brother (oops sorry, Big Sister). Poor Orwell never knew the full depths of Political Correctness when he fashioned his dystopia.

There are several ways by which this terrible crisis on the campus can be solved. One, we can go back to the prohibition of alcohol, which our culture is almost ready for in any case. Two, we can go back to the good old days of campuses before the 1950s, especially in the South: not only the banning of coed dorms, and abolishing coeducation altogether, but insisting on official chaperons for girls on every date, on dance-cards filled out in advance and cleared with the chaperon, on boys being barred from the entire girls' campus except one official room, etc. And finally, why not go the whole hog toward Left Puritanism and define all sex as *per se* coercive? That would clear up all the fuzziness and sex, or at least hetero-sex, could be outlawed completely. Or is that the point, after all? •

The Buchanan Smear: The *Commentary* Coda

by M.N.R.

The record of the organized smear against Pat Buchanan (see my "Pat Buchanan and the Menace of Anti-Anti-Semitism," *RRR*, December 1990), could not hope to be complete without a substantial contribution from NeoCon Central—the monthly *Commentary*, the Thinking Man's *New Republic*. For a long while it seemed that we would have to make do with a puny editorial from "editor-in-chief" Norman Podhoretz. But at long last, our expectations have been fulfilled,

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in a lengthy article by Joshua Muravchik, "Patrick J. Buchanan and the Jews," *Commentary* (January 1991.) Muravchik's article is mainly a rehash of the various claims that Pat is pro-Nazi and anti-Semitic, doused with a veneer of phony judiciousness that befits *Commentary*'s lofty pretensions. But there are some extra points of interest. Muravchik is willing to pronounce Buchanan as anti-Semitic even though he admits that "there may be no authoritative definition of the term." (That's OK, flail away, anyway.) One of the counts of his indictment is that Pat's reference to Israel's "amen corner" must be maliciously anti-Semitic because it is patently false. For, notes Muravchik, "far from beating the drums (for war against Iraq), Israel was at most merely humming along." Yes, Josh, *Israel itself* may be quietly humming along, but its "amen corner" in the United States, the ardent Zionists, have been almost hysterically calling for all-out war against Iraq ever since August 2. Evidence? Just read the periodicals, and watch TV, for the frenetic hawks are everywhere. And that, of course, was precisely Pat's point.

Why be anti-neocon? If I had time, I would lovingly count the ways.

Moreover, Muravchik implicitly agrees that Israel's interests are at stake in the Arabian war, since one of his charges against Buchanan is that since Pat has been a hawk all his life, how could he possibly be a dove now if not from an animus toward Israel? Muravchik does not seem to realize that the world has changed in the past year, as even his neocon buddies concede. Pat Buchanan and his fellow Old Rightists were not pro-war for the Hell of it, or for its own sake; they were pro-war because they believed that we engaged in a world-wide conflict with a mortal Soviet/Communist enemy. Now that that war has collapsed, Josh, there is no point to being pro-war as a permanent reflex. Muravchik pays lip service to the dramatic world change since 1989, but grossly plays down its importance. Saying that Communism "is not yet finished" is a far cry from saying that the Cold War is still raging. Hey Josh, where have you been for the last year or two? What do you think happened to East Germany? Or Poland? It is absurd to conjure up "anti-Semitism" as an explanation for this new outbreak of anti-war sentiment.

But the deliciously new note sounded by Comrade Muravchik is to lay a cloud of German blood-guilt upon Pat Buchanan. Buchanan, for one thing, is damned for being a pro-German revisionist on World War *One*(!), and we are subjected to the old mendacious Allied propaganda on that war, including a whitewashing of British war guilt, and the absurd claim that Britain's century-old maritime supremacy was an "answer" to Germany's land forces, when it was precisely the opposite. The German invasion of Belgium, which was only an excuse for Britain's intervention, is again trotted out as the sole explanation of that maximization of the European conflict. But the fascinating point of all this raking over World War One is to prepare the ground for Muravchik's blood libel of Buchanan. For it turns out, as Muravchik points out triumphantly, that Pat, because of his name, "is often taken for Irish," but is not really Irish at all! It seems that Pat is really German, or, as Muravchik puts it, he is "more German than anything else." Evidently a dogged genealogical researcher, Muravchik gleans from Pat's autobiography (which so many writers have been poring over looking for evil) that his mother was 100% German(!) whereas his father was only 50% Irish and 50% Scotch-Irish. Well, there we have it. What case could be clearer? Poor Muravchik has obviously missed his true calling; if he were only born a half-century earlier and had been of a different ethnic background, he could have happily taken his place in Hitler's Office of Genealogical Research.

Muravchik concludes his vile article with a final thrust: "why is Buchanan spoiling for a fight with the neoconservatives?" To Muravchik it is self-evident that the only reason one could possibly dislike neo-cons is because they are almost all Jewish. Hence, Pat must be anti-Semitic. Why be anti-neocon? If I had time, I would lovingly count the ways. Suffice it to say because they have in their ranks writers like Joshua Muravchik, who is billed as a "resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute," and who will bless us with a forthcoming book, entitled *Exporting Democracy: Fulfilling America's Destiny*. Need I say more? ●

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The War on the Right

by Paul Gottfried

Conservative wars are flaring up in the United States, especially since the Rockford Institute, a traditionalist thinktank based in Rockford, Illinois, dismissed the Rev. Richard John Neuhaus, the director of its New York center. Neuhaus and his staff were also evicted from the premises, an act in a struggle begun long before and continuing down to the present.

Months and even years before the eviction, heated disagreement was occurring between Neuhaus, a longtime civil rights activist who had built a hesitant alliance with the Right, and Thomas Fleming, editor of the Rockford Institute publication *Chronicles*. Fleming, a social theorist and classicist, had become a leading representative of the Old Right. Contemptuous of egalitarian politics, Fleming stressed in his publications the indispensability of rooted communities and social hierarchies for maintaining public order. He and Neuhaus clashed repeatedly on the issues of immigration and on the nature of democracy. Unlike Fleming, who still calls himself a political liberal, Neuhaus is closely identified with the neoconservatives, anti-Communist social democrats who had abandoned the Democratic Party (claiming the Democrats had forsaken them) after the presidential nomination of George McGovern in 1972.

Neoconservatives remain essentially Centrist Democrats, but have developed connections on the political Right and were prominent in the Reagan administration. Neuhaus's access to their foundations and journals led the two presidents of the Rockford Institute, John Howard and Allan Carlson, into enlisting him for their enterprise. Both had given him considerable discretionary power in running the Rockford Center in New York dealing with religious questions. From the start, it was a marriage of convenience on both sides. Neuhaus, a Lutheran clergyman associated with predominantly New York Jewish neoconservatives, was looking for a Midwestern heartland affiliation. This affiliation could also benefit his neoconservative sponsors by extending their influence, at least indirectly, to other cultural groups.

Irving Kristol, an impenitent welfare statist, controls the neocon foundations.

The Rockford Institute, which had depended initially on local support, hoped to use Neuhaus and the New York connection to build their own financial and social network. Since the mid-seventies the neocons had come to control a multitude of foundations dispensing many millions of dollars annually. It was Irving Kristol, editor of *Public Interest* and close friend of former Secretary of the Treasury, multimillionaire William Simon, who had begun the neocon march through the foundations.

The John M. Olin, Bradley, Scaife-Mellon, and Smith-Richardson Foundations, together with smaller less opulent ones, fell to Kristol and to his designated retainers, most prominently Michael Joyce at Bradley and James Pierson at Olin.

Unlike the American traditionalists of the fifties and sixties who had viewed fundraising with revulsion, Kristol, a sometime Trotskyist and still an impenitent defender of the welfare state, spent 25 years convincing wealthy businessmen to support him and his friends as a countervailing force to the Left. Never did he promise his benefactors a return to an older America with small-town virtues and a pre-welfare state economy. He extolled big business, including multinational corporations, and praised present-day America as a more just society than the one it had replaced. He urged cooperation between business and big government; and prosperous businessmen, eager to uphold American values, flocked to his banners.

The Kristol empire also came to include intellectuals, some of them academics but mostly journalists like Norman Podhoretz, Ben Wattenberg, and Midge Decter. A neoconservative ideal type would not be a scholar but a publicist of Eastern European Jewish background and someone who is only at home in the New York-Washington corridor. Perhaps the predominance of this type has made neoconservatives welcome with open arms such conspicuously Christian allies as George Weigel,

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Michael Novak, Carol Iannone, and Richard John Neuhaus, all of them *Commentary* contributors.

Neuhaus's star rose in the neoconservative firmament most conspicuously after the publication of *The Naked Public Square* (Grand Rapids, 1984), a plea for the public expression of religious values in America compatible with democratic pluralism. Though Neuhaus in this book deplores attempts by the American judiciary and by liberal intellectuals to secularize American public life, he also expresses repeated concern for the sensitivities of religious and other minorities. In all his writings about the sterility of secularism, he, moreover, invokes the figure of Martin Luther King, Jr., and his own experience of the civil rights movement to show the essential harmony between socially sensitive religion and social justice.

Neuhaus's wedding of a vague sentiment of piety to devotion to democratic progress (also known as democratic capitalism to his friend Michael Novak) made him a valuable asset to the neoconservatives grouped around Norman Podhoretz, the editor of *Commentary* magazine.

Though *Commentary* and Podhoretz have tried to give a Jewish spin to their own defense of a democratic civil religion, the Neuhaus formulation seemed useful to them in reaching others beyond their subculture. Neuhaus writes often for *Commentary*, and has become religious editor of *National Review*. Largely because of the turning of its editor William F. Buckley, Jr., toward the neoconservative camp beginning in the mid-seventies, his formerly quintessentially Old Right periodical has become an appendage of the *Commentary*-circle, featuring neoconservative authors and views in every issue. Predictably, *National Review* denounced the "extremist" tendencies of the Rockford Institute after Carlson had dismissed its religious editor, Richard John Neuhaus.

There are two features of the conservative war described here that warrant further discussion. One is its very relentlessness, which is characteristic of struggles involving irreconcilable differences. One is reminded here of Xenophon's phrase about the relationship of authentic enemies: "reviling one another and hating each other more than anyone else." In this case the hostility has become all-consuming.

Neoconservatives have never shared their wealth with other groups on the Right, unless it was part of an effort at cooptation. Those they could not or did not wish to coopt, like Southern conservatives or libertarians, they have tried to isolate by denouncing as crank extremists. Their treatment of the Rockford Institute has been true to form. The Olin and Bradley Foundations promised the Rockford Institute grants after the intervention of Neuhaus. But since Neuhaus's departure neither foundation has honored its promise, and the Bradley Foundation has refused outright to pay, despite what seems a binding legal contract made with the Rockford Institute.

While the Neuhaus affair was unfolding, concerned neoconservatives proceeded to call the dean of arts and sciences at Catholic University of America to accuse me of "anti-Zionist" publications. During the spring I was offered a professorship at Catholic University in ancient political theory, an offer withdrawn after the aforesaid accusation was made. Suffice it to say that I have never printed anything "anti-Zionist" in my life. The charge was made because of my collaboration on a book with Thomas Fleming and because the neoconservatives had trouble sticking on me the label of anti-Semite they assign to their Christian opponents like Fleming and Joseph Sobran. Since I am a Jew whose paternal family fled to America in order to escape the Nazis, it may have seemed easier to brand me as an "anti-Zionist," as a Jew who has openly disagreed with the *Commentary*-circle, the self-styled defenders of Israel, than as an "anti-Semite," that is, a Christian whom the neoconservatives dislike and who is therefore condemned as a Jew-baiter.

In all fairness, it should be said that what remains of the Old Right is at least as hostile as the other side. What keeps it from being equally aggressive is lack of funds and of access to widely-circulated opinion publications, which are generally run by the liberal Left or by neoconservatives. Without mass newspapers such as *The Wall Street Journal* or even *The Washington Times* and periodicals with the readership of *The New Republic* and *National Review* and without the possibility of having their representatives on nationally televised programs, it is surprising that the Old Right remains as effective as it is.

When Midge Decter lashed out recently against Russell Kirk, a revered conservative man of letters, as an anti-Semite, for offhand

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remarks about the ritualistic nature of neoconservative defenses of Israeli foreign policy, Old Right activists were there to call attention to her vituperation. Embarrassment has become a tool that the Old Right has employed to portray its adversary as arrogant and often hysterical. The Heritage Foundation's Vice President, Burton Yale Pines, has described the Old Right as being "jealous as hell" about neocon financial successes. Alas this characterization misses the point. The neoconservatives created an adversary on the Right by vilification and exclusion. That enemy lives increasingly for the indemnification of its honor and belief and toward that end, to set neoconservative positions in proper perspective. Its passion for principle (something political operators in Washington may have trouble understanding) fueled the Old Right defense against the neoconservatives.

A final point that must be made about the war within the American Right is that it is being waged by well-defined groups of intellectuals. Fleming and Neuhaus typify the two sides locked in battle. It was entirely predictable that Neuhaus spent his five years of association with the Rockford Institute trying to remove Fleming from the editorship of *Chronicles* and making sure that grants of money to the Institute from neoconservative sources went to "safe" projects. It was also to be expected that he should denounce Fleming and even the courtly president of the Institute (who generally backed his Rockford colleague) to gatherings of book publishers and magazine editors in New York. It was the backbiting more than anything else that led to the manner in which the Rockford Institute chose to close its relationship with Neuhaus, by evicting him from his offices.

Neuhaus's hatred of his former employers came out, perhaps irresistibly, in a review of an anthology of essays by the Jewish theologian Will Herberg in *National Review*: "It is not only totalitarians who cannot stand Jews and Judaism. In this country we are familiar with a brand of conservatism that is marked by nativist and chauvinist sentiment. It advocates a form of cultural coherence that requires a clear line between 'us' and 'them.' In the language of that conservatism, which fortunately is itself now marginal, the Jew is obtrusively marginal."

A whole mosaic of prejudices can be read into *Commentary*.

The remarks in *Chronicles* that occasioned these tirades were favorable comments about Gore Vidal, a novelist attacked by Norman Podhoretz for anti-Zionist language, and contemptuous statements about leaving America with open borders and without a clearly defined national character. These offending statements, which appeared in *Chronicles* in April 1989, did not create the hostility between Fleming and Neuhaus, which had been festering for years. In fact there is reason to believe that the struggle would have ended in bitterness, as soon as the appropriate occasion presented itself. Each antagonist saw the other as embodying what he most rejected: in one case the defense of a "coherent, intact, and finally closed culture"; and in the other the war against rooted societies in the name of yuppie cosmopolitanism dressed in Christian symbols.

It may be useful to point out that many of *Chronicles*' contributors are Jewish, including this author. There is also no evidence of generic attacks on Jews or on Judaism in anything that the magazine has published. Yet, Neuhaus is correct that the "classical language of anti-Semitism" in Europe as used by the *Action Française*, seized upon "deracinated, rootless, and cosmopolitan" as "code words for Jews and Jewishness." What complicates matters is that neoconservatives have opened themselves to this language by trying to reconstruct Western and, more specifically American, history around the American present. In an essay in the *The Salisbury Review*, I underlined the relationship between this project of reconstruction and the persistent Jewish fear of anti-Semitism associated with Christian Europe. I argued that the Jewish experience of Christian anti-Semitism coupled with established patterns of Jewish anti-Christian prejudice helps to account for the Jewish neoconservative stress on pluralistic democracy as the only political good in the Western world.

I also maintained that a whole mosaic of prejudices, such as anti-Southern, anti-German, and anti-Slavic sentiments, can be read into the essays that *Commentary* has published. These sentiments are closely related to the social and

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cultural backgrounds of the editorial board: lower middle-class New York Jews one generation removed from Eastern European villages. Indeed these sentiments are hardly characteristic of all Jewry and would probably mystify most Levantine Jews or descendants of the *Our Crowd* German Jews described so well by Stephen Birmingham. Moreover, dislike for an older WASP America runs through the work of ethnic Catholics associated with the neoconservatives. Michael Novak's *The Unsinkable Ethnics* (New York 1972) illustrates the author's deep resentment as the descendant of Slovakian immigrants against the Anglo-Saxon Protestant economic and cultural dominance he finds in America.

Though Novak might today repudiate the socialist views permeating *The Unsinkable Ethnics*, it nonetheless may still represent his feelings and those of other Catholic neoconservatives toward the old American Protestant ascendancy. Anti-nativist and particularly anti-Southern sentiments are powerfully felt among neoconservatives, the now most influential group on the American Right; and they may explain the particularly vicious attacks unleashed by neoconservative publicists, most noticeably Suzanne Garment in *The Wall Street Journal*, in the early 1980s when the Southern conservative M.E. Bradford was being considered for the National Endowment for the Humanities directorship.

Neocon devotion to pluralism does not extend to allowing dissent on the Right.

The neoconservative fixation on "global democracy" exemplifies the reconstructionist impulse. Through the National Endowment for Democracy which they staff and partly fund, and through the endless editorials in the newspapers and periodicals under their sway, neoconservatives proclaim the world-historical need to transform all societies into democracies patterned on the present American model: political and sexual equality, limited capitalism together with well-organized labor unions, and cultural modernization are all ideals that neoconservative journalists look to our government to spread.

Like the Kristol-protege Gregory Fossedal in *The Democratic Imperative* (New York, 1989), they see no end to what America can do to cleanse other societies of their pasts. After all we too were once sinners, engaged in injustice, before the New Deal, the civil rights revolution, and other democratizing events made us a fit model for universal imitation. America redeemed by Martin Luther King, Jr., Bayard Rustin, and other civil rights leaders has become a vehicle for universal redemption in the speeches of Neuhaus and of the neoconservatives' favorite politicians, William Bennett and Jack Kemp. All of them view America like Christianized Rome, as a once-sinful empire that has become righteous and must now bring righteousness to the Soviet Union, South Africa, and other benighted places.

A look at a symposium in the October 1985 *Commentary* on America since 1945, featuring prominent neoconservatives, reveals an unsettling truth. Almost all the contributors treat America in 1945 as an alien land full of insensitive bigots. Almost all of them celebrate the progress in human relations during the last forty years, even while deploring the dramatic rise in violent crimes and the signs of family breakdown. The society whose passing they welcome and which they see as the prehistory of their own accession to power is the one that the Old Right happily recalls. It is an America associated with families and communities which the forces of modernity had still not overrun.

Most of the Old Right recognizes that what it admires is an ideal and that the past, like the present, was in a state of flux and never a perfect embodiment of any ideal later ascribed to it. Still, the Old Right is more comfortable with almost any American past than with the American present, which they see as largely beyond moral control. The neoconservatives, by contrast, are in love with contemporary America and attack those on the Right as well as on the Left who point out its defects. They use the American present as a model of how all societies should function, and they advocate an interventionist foreign policy to make sure that everyone pays them the flattery of imitation.

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Neoconservative devotion to pluralism does not extend to allowing dissent on the Right. Such a move could result in relegitimating the historical past while delegitimating the feigned cosmopolitan and egalitarian politics that neoconservatives represent together with much of the American Left.

Thus the war goes on within the American Right and shows no signs of winding down until one side or the other is entirely removed. It is a grudge match in which both sides have indisputable assets. To all appearances the neoconservatives have the overwhelming strategic advantage: apparently unlimited funds provided by generally satisfied benefactors and multiple publications, some with mass circulation.

It is also clear that the American Left would rather face neoconservatives on the Right than irreconcilable opponents of the liberal welfare state, the feminist movement, and the civil rights lobby. Despite overlaps between Old Right and leftwing isolationism, the Left has usually reserved much harsher language for American traditionalists than neoconservatives, as reading *The Washington Post* or *The New Republic* should make clear. But the neoconservatives' strengths are also their weaknesses. They have become administrators of money and power brokers, who increasingly depend on others to fight their battles. And most of their mercenaries are today journalists rather than scholars.

Contrary to the image that they would like to project of themselves as scholar-journalists and of their opponents as Tory Catholic poets or Southern rednecks, the neoconservatives are becoming intellectually outclassed by their impoverished enemies on their Right. In an essay in the Fall 1987 *Policy Review*, I highlighted the role of the Old-Right second generation in applying the social sciences and philosophical learning in their defense of traditionalist thinking. I suggested that even social scientists who draw support from neoconservative sources, particularly Steven Goldberg, Michael Levin, and Stanley Rothman, make arguments about sexual roles and inherited characteristics that have more in common with Old Right than neoconservative thinking.

Not the neoconservatives but the second generation Old Right has become the bridge between the American conservatism of the fifties and sixties and academic learning. While the neoconservatives are frozen in a Cold War liberal political posture and must carry around the cultural baggage of the *Commentary*-circle, the Old Right has ironically become the party of the free-floating intellectuals, resistant to power brokers.

All this might change if the Rockford Institute not only survives the attacks of "powerful, determined enemies" but becomes a wealthy, influential center of Old Right activities. Currently a "New Fusionism" is forming among paleoconservatives and paleolibertarians in which both sides speak of opposing the "welfare-warfare state" and supporting the moral foundation on which our civilization rests. If the present still belongs to the neoconservatives and their allies in the liberal establishment, this situation may be about to change. New thunder may soon be reverberating on the American Right. ●

The Emperor Bush and His Iraqi Campaign

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

War is to Washington what blood is to vampires. It engorges the government and drains the people. It turns the mountebanks of the legislature and the executive into statesmen. It suppresses dissent and legitimates censorship. It distracts from bank bailouts, race quotas, and other federal crimes. And it enables the State to gather into its ravening craw even more of the people's wealth.

No wonder politicians love it, for war is the apotheosis of the State. The president's approval rating goes to 82% and every two-bit congressman can say with Vishnu, "I am become death, the destroyer of worlds."

One of my most vivid memories of 1989 was the stricken look on the faces of George Bush and James Baker when the Berlin Wall came down. Who would now serve as Official Enemy?

The collapse of Communism was a frightening event for the feds: the budget might actually be cut. Not the phony cuts of the last budget summit, but real cuts.

The American people might be allowed to keep more of their own money, and that would mean that the munitions manufacturers so beloved of retiring generals and bribe-happy congressmen would lose contracts. Official Washington shivered in its bed.

But no one need have worried. As an unnamed Pentagon

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official said last August, "You've got to give the Devil his due. Saddam Hussein saved our budget."

Was Saddam just a happy coincidence, or did Bush want a war with his old ally from the Reagan administration? In the 1980s, after all, the U.S. encouraged Saddam to attack Iran, and supported his aggression with billions in subsidized food, weapons, and intelligence.

In those days, the Ayatollah Khomeini was Hitler, so the U.S. pressured the U.N. not to condemn Saddam's poison gas attacks on Iranian troops. The U.S. even protected Iraqi oil tankers. When the *U.S.S. Vicennes*' billion-dollar Aegis missile-aiming radar system shot down an Iranian jetliner, killing 290 civilians, it was on pro-Saddam duty.

On July 25th, after the massing of Iraqi troops on the Kuwaiti border, U.S. Ambassador April Glaspie told Saddam that regarding a possible invasion of Kuwait, "the United States has no opinion on Arab-Arab conflicts, like your border disagreement with Kuwait." "James Baker has directed our official spokesmen to emphasize this."

On July 26th, the *Washington Post* reported that "some officials" in the White House, Pentagon, and State Department "asserted yesterday that an Iraq attack on Kuwait would not draw a U.S. military response."

On July 30th, Assistant Secretary of State John Kelly confirmed to the House Middle East subcommittee, in response to a question by Lee Hamilton (D-IN), that if Iraq invaded, "it is correct to say that we do not have a treaty committment which would obligate us to engage U.S. forces there."

When Saddam, acting on the winks and nods, invaded Kuwait on August 2nd, he went from ally to Adolf overnight. Bush poured troops into Saudi Arabia, but to do so, he had to twist the Saudis' arm with angry visits from Dick Cheney and others. Unnamed Defense Department officials were quoted as complaining about Saudi "wimps who don't want to defend themselves." The pressure worked, of course, and now—as Baker crows—the U.S. will protect its kings and kinglets with a "new regional security arrangement," courtesy of the U.S. taxpayer.

Yes, Saddam is a thug, like most Third World pals of the U.S. government.

Bush's lying lips told us the troops were there for purely defensive purposes; meanwhile he and Baker worked busily, checkbooks in hand, getting U.N. members to authorize an attack. Then, right after the election, Bush doubled the number of troops, forbade rotations, went on the offensive, and announced that he would attack if Saddam weren't out unconditionally by January 15th.

For home consumption, Bush announced that Baker would go to Baghdad, and travel the "last mile for peace," on "any date between now and the U.N. deadline of January 15th" that Iraq picked. But the offer was fraudulent. When Saddam said OK, and picked January 12th, Bush denounced him and cancelled the deal.

Advised by the psychological branch of his old agency, the CIA, Bush set out to humiliate Saddam, to make sure that "Arab psychology" would prevent a pullout. That's why Bush talked about "kicking his ass," deliberately mispronounced his name (it's SaDOM not SADem), and always used contemptuous language.

Meanwhile, all peace overtures, including the harmless idea of a Middle Eastern peace conference (which an allegedly sacred U.N. resolution has long called for), were dismissed as "rewarding aggression."

Yes, Saddam is a thug, like most of the Third World pals of the U.S. government. Yet there are real border questions between Iraq and Kuwait as a result of British duplicity. And even the State Department admits that the Kuwaiti heistocracy—the Bush-blessed "legitimate government"—was drilling diagonally underneath the border and stealing Iraq's oil. There would have been, in a less-bellicose administration, plenty of room for negotiation, even after the U.S.-encouraged invasion. Instead, Bush denounced Saddam again and again as "The Dictator" and "The Aggressor."

This is the same Bush who just gave himself, by executive fiat, dictatorial war powers over the American economy. His excuse? The despotic Defence Production Act had expired. This is also the same Bush who invaded Panama, causing a billion dollars in damage, and installing a regime kept in power by U.S. troops.

Speaking of aggressors, there are also: the U.S.'s gallant ally

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Turkey, which seized part of Cyprus and holds it to this day; Syria, which invaded Lebanon with U.S. approval and is even now massacring Christians; and Red China, which got $1.1 billion for its pro-war Security Council vote, despite its invasion and annexation of Tibet, and planned destruction of a free Hong Kong (also through British duplicity).

Then there are the dictators of the coalition: Assad of Syria, who makes Saddam look like Little Mary Sunshine; Mubarak of Egypt, who got a $7.1 billion tip for his support; the hereditary dictators of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait; and Gorby.

When Bush talks in messianic language of the "whole world being united, for the first time in history," behind "our" policy (world rule through the U.N.), he includes such murderous uniters as the U.S.S.R.

Yuri Maltsev and other Russian dissidents believe that Bush made a deal with Gorbachev at the Helsinki summit. He would support the U.S. war with Iraq. In return, he would get billions in aid and a free hand in the Baltics and other captive republics. Helping Gorby keep Stalin's conquests doesn't count as "rewarding aggression," of course.

One of my rules is never trust a reporter in a safari jacket. And sure enough, the press—led by these types—has enlisted for the duration. It repeats, endlessly, the obvious guff that there are virtually no Iraqi civilian casualties, and that the weapons are working perfectly (so let's further bloat the military budget).

This war will cost, says Sam Nunn, $86 billion, and I've never seen a congressional estimate that couldn't be doubled and still be low. But that doesn't count the estimated $100 billion to buy the "allied coalition," nor the foreign aid they will demand afterwards. Israel is already insisting on an immediate $13 billion. And this, from a U.S. government that is running a $600 billion deficit this recessionary fiscal year.

More money for more weapons, in a world of no serious threats to America? To justify this, we're shown footage of a few bombs accurately hitting what we're told are their targets. But why isn't the press allowed access to the thousands of other films? Some of these weapons systems don't work well in Pentagon demonstrations, and we're supposed to believe that they are faultless in combat?

The U.S. has, like Israel and Iraq, imposed heavy military censorship. We learn only what the government wants us to know, when they want us to know it. After all, notes a story in the pro-war *New York Times*, "if the press had more access to unfavorable information,

Why Die for Kuwait?

by L.H.R.

When the ruling Sabah family of Kuwait got two hours notice of the Iraqi invasion, they headed for the border in a fleet of Mercedes. They didn't want to die for Kuwait. Also headed for the border was the royal army, which also didn't want to die for Kuwait.

But we're supposed to take Christian and Jewish kids out of the United States, and send *them* to die for a Moslem mini-state that outlawed their religions.

Not long ago, the Kuwaiti ambassador to the U.S., a Sabah sheikling, introduced me to his son, one of the few students at Princeton with his own retinue of servants. When I asked why the young man wasn't in the desert, an aide called me impertinent. As a Saudi prince told the *Wall Street Journal*, "we have our white slaves from America to do that."

The Mafia-like Sabahs held every lucrative job in Kuwait, ripping off $150 billion. The Don Corleone of this Family, a hereditary dictator George Bush calls "the legitimate government," has four wives. Three are permanent; the fourth holds a rotating slot changed every Thursday, according to *Vanity Fair*.

Saudi Arabia—another hereditary dictatorship—also outlaws Judaism and Christianity; public worship can be punished by death. As in Kuwait, the Saud family holds all important jobs. It even named the country after itself.

Just before the first U.S. troops landed, every known dissident in the Saudi kingdom "disappeared." Their families were warned that they too would vanish if they talked to Western reporters, reports the London *Spectator*.

Saudi women are virtual chattels of their husbands, but actual slavery was only abolished in the 1960s. British anti-slavery activists say it continues to this day in rural areas. The police—whirling dervishes at the sight of a martini or a bare female face—seem not to notice.

In V.A. hospitals, some Americans have been flat on their backs since Vietnam and even Korea. To kill or maim our 18-year-olds for a mob of Middle Eastern goodfellas seems to me an atrocity at least as bad as Saddam Hussein's.

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evidence, say that equipment was malfunctioning or a particular tactic had gone awry [or that there were high Iraqi civilian casualties], the journalists would focus on it."

It was months before we found out what really happened in Panama, where the Defense Department lied to us about the accuracy of its mega-billion stealth bombers and the number of civilian deaths. That is why, on every aspect of this war, I apply another one of my rules: never believe *anything* the government says; it is virtually always lying.

But isn't this unpatriotic? Aren't I, as a loyal American, required to support a federal war? No, patriotism means love of America, her history, her people, her land, her culture, and her values—not love of their enemy, the U.S. government.

But shouldn't all the arguments stop until the shooting does? No, this is precisely the time for the debate to be turned on high, for this is when the State can most easily steal our freedoms and our money.

We have no business mixing in the ancient hatreds of the Middle East—not with our taxes, not with our weapons, not with our sons. There is only one way to "support our troops," and that is to bring them home, and keep them out of foreign wars.

As the Founding Fathers knew, we can't have a constitutional republic at home and an empire abroad. Yet that seems like ancient history.

If Bush can galvanize the American people for war against a small, poor, low-tech country whose GNP is less than 1% of ours by portraying it as a nuclear-armed world threat, then he can get away with anything. When the Emperor Bush proclaims a war tax, a draft, or a Newer Deal, there will be hosannas.

Fasten your economic seatbelt, as this Caesar Augustus wannnabe bombs and bribes his way towards the New World Order. ●

Anti-Environmentalist Victories

by L.H.R.

When voters in North Carolina were confronted by liberal pollsters, many disguised their views. And why not? The inquisitors, after all, represented an elite that saw a vote for Harvey Gantt, who endorses race privileges, as enlightened and progressive, while a vote for Jesse Helms, who supports equal treatment, as racist and reactionary. Such are the times in which we live.

Gantt was enlightened on *all* the issues, of course, from abortion to the environment, and his defeat was a thrashing for all the bad guys. Another victory for our side was watching the environmentalists turn green over the election results in six important states.

Voters hid their true views from liberal pollsters on these questions as well. They might bow publicly to all the pieties about, say, Spotted Owl Birds, but once in that booth, and faced with impoverishing actual humans in the name of a mythical Mother Nature, it was "fry the little SOBs." And fry them they did, from New York to California.

CALIFORNIA In California, the horrific Big Green, State Sen. Tom "Jane Fonda" Hayden's initiative which would have created environmentalist central planning for the nation's biggest and economically most important state, was crushed 63% to 37%. This is despite leading in the polls, heavy financing, and endorsements in sickeningly ubiquitous television ads by every leftist in the Hollywood phone book.

Big Green would have created an environmentalist fuehrer over the California economy—already hyper-regulated—with more power than the governor.

It would have abolished almost all pesticides, letting the bugs take over and leaving Californians with much more expensive, wormier, smaller, and less-appetizing "organic" fruits and vegetables. It would also, as intended, put many of the farmers in the productive Central and Imperial valleys out of business.

BG would also have banned *all* offshore drilling, protecting the free ocean views of coastal millionaires from an occasional oil drilling platform in the misty distance, while making regular Americans pay more and more for their gasoline.

Unfortunately, much of this drilling has already been forbidden through federal action—legislative, executive, and judicial (the three horsemen of the apocalypse). For example, as part of his sordid budget summit, George "The Environmental President" Bush locked up more millions of acres, on the coasts and inland, from ever being "desecrated" by oil drilling for humans.

Not coincidentally, this increases the competitive position of Bush's favorite special interest, big oil, as against small domestic producers. Drilling is legal off the

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Venezuelan, Red Chinese, Persian Gulf, and other Rockefeller coasts.

BG would have ordered reductions in benign levels of carbon dioxide emissions, meaning less industry and a much poorer state, all in the name of fighting the Greenhouse Effect.

The only problem is that global warming, the alleged result of the Greenhouse Effect, supposedly caused by increased CO_2 levels, doesn't exist. Last year, the National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration completed an exhaustive study of ground temperatures in the U.S. over the past hundred years. The finding: *no warming whatsoever*, during the greatest increase in CO_2 levels in history. A NASA satellite study of the earth over the last ten years found the same non-problem. In fact, far from warming, there was some evidence of cooling in the NOAA study, especially in the Southeast. Fruit farming, for example, has had to move from South Carolina to Georgia to northern Florida to southern Florida. Which I guess means that we should be pumping out more of that CO_2!

A separate California initiative, Forests Forever, was also defeated. FF purpose was to ban all logging of "old-growth timber." Old trees are sacred to the environmental religion because they weren't planted by the Great Satan, man. To environmentalists, as to Marxists, the property rights of timber owners mean nothing.

Much logging is also done on public lands, and while they should all be privatized—since land socialism makes no more sense than any other sort—in the meantime, public resources should be employed for the public good. That is, forests should be logged, grasslands grazed, and oilfields drilled.

ALASKA In Alaska, there was also good news, as the pro-development and pro-oil drilling Walter Hickel was elected governor on the Alaska Independence Party ticket. Both the Republican and Democratic candidates were Greenies, and Wally definitely is not.

MISSOURI In Missouri, state land-use planning (i.e., removal of property rights) under the color of protecting the purity of streams was defeated. Ever since the federal government nationalized all the waterways in the 19th century specifically to allow pollution by industrial special interests, property owners have been unable to stop water pollution.

Old trees are sacred to the environmental religion because they weren't planted by the Great Satan, man.

The only answer is to establish and protect private property rights in water, as the courts started doing in the 19th century, not taking the few rights that remain and subverting them through state bureaucrats.

WASHINGTON STATE In Washington State, Initiative 547, a land-use planning measure known as Little Green, met the same fate as its big brother, being dumped by an astounding three to one.

547 would have transferred all local planning authority to unelected bureaucrats at the state level (not that elected local bureaucrats should be doing economic planning either, but at least they can be more easily monitored by the people).

The stated intention was to restrict the supply of land available for development, therefore raising the price of new residential and commercial construction. (This from liberals who are always wailing about the poor and homeless.) It would also have allowed and encouraged confiscatory taxes called "impact fees" on those enemies of the earth, developers.

Despite massive media propaganda, voters in hitherto Green Washington didn't like the idea of artificially more expensive housing, higher taxes on businessmen, or the legal-fee bonanza this law was intended to create for the lawyers who wrote it, and would have gotten rich trying the zillion lawsuits that would have resulted.

547 would also have banned offshore drilling, made it virtually impossible to develop forest land, penalized all single-family houses built on fewer than 20 acres (!), and outlawed the development, under any circumstances, of "wetlands" (what used to be known as swamps

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when I was a kid), which are holier to the environmentalists than dry land.

Moreover, six counties in the Seattle area voted down a 1% sales tax on real estate purchases, the proceeds from which would have gone to more socialist land acquisition. Snohomish County (Everett) voted to repeal a "wetlands" provision similar to Little Green's.

One of the great engineering achievements of the ancient world was draining the Pontine Marshes, which enabled the city of Rome to expand. But no such project could be undertaken today; that vast, malarial swamp would be protected as "wetlands." Not that draining all swamps is a good idea. That is, after all, how most of Washington, D.C., was formed.

NEW YORK STATE In New York, despite heavy campaigning by the egregious Gov. Mario Cuomo, a $2 billion bond referendum called the 21st Century Environmental Quality Act lost 49% to 51%. This law would have had the state go even further into debt to buy up more Adirondack region land and take it permanently out of production, even though the state already owns millions of acres. (An additional note on the Adirondacks: vacationers and residents were driven crazy last summer by infestations of black flies and other human-attacking insects. The environmentalists had prevented Mother Nature's little creatures from being sprayed.)

Voters didn't believe that government officials, who can never think beyond the next election and are always willing to mortgage our children and grandchildren to it, really cared about the future. Besides, while not burdening future generations for today's state profligacy is a good principle, taxing today's New Yorkers for those 100 years from now is a nutty and unjust idea. Not that putting more land into the government's bumbling hands helps anyone but the government. We actually need to sell all government land, state and federal, and use the proceeds to pay off these spendthriftdoms' liabilities.

Voters were also concerned about New York State's horrendous debt level, both for the state directly and the various state authorities specifically created by the loathsome Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller to allow mega-borrowing.

The ghost of the kinky Rock, who died in his paramour's bed, hands handcuffed behind his back, still shackles the taxpayers of New York through his mammoth spending and borrowing. (New York State will, I predict, suspend payment on much of its authorities' tax-exempt debt during this depression.)

OREGON Oregon was the first state to pass mandatory recycling for beverage containers. But this year Oregonians voted down, by a margin of 57% to 43%, an initiative to force companies to use recycled or recyclable materials in their packaging, which would have drastically increased food and other prices for consumers.

The dirty little secret of recycling is that it makes no economic sense. Or rather, the recycling that does make economic sense is already happening through the free market. It often costs more to recycle than to use new materials, but the environmentalists don't care. We

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are all supposed to recycle as a sacrament of the earth religion.

Oregonians also refused to shut down their only nuclear power plant.

HOORAY Carl Pope of the Sierra Club complained that "we have suddenly entered a time of great fiscal conservatism. All the causes that had been nearest and dearest to people's hearts they now don't want to vote taxes or bonds for." Damn right, Carl.

Except that, upon analysis, these causes are not really near and dear to our hearts. That should make us optimistic, except that we can expect the environmentalist lobby in Washington, with its combined annual budget of more than $400 million, to pressure (and purchase) Congress and the executive branch now that the people have spoken. More and more, they will seek to fulfill their goals through centralized federal control, as with Bush's monstrous $45 billion Clean Air Act of 1990, which burdens American business for the phony crises of global warming and acid rain. (The latter, says a $600 million, 10-year federal study the EPA has tried to suppress, also doesn't exist. Or rather, where it does exist, due to naturally acidic soil, it has always existed. Industrial emissions have nothing to do with it.)

Nevertheless, when people were able to vote against Green initiatives, they did so, no matter how massive the Establishment propaganda. "Trust the people" was a 19th-century Tory campaign slogan. Well, not entirely, the Founding Fathers knew, but a lot more than George (3rd, Bush, or Mitchell).

When people were able to vote against Green initiatives, they did so.

Congratulations also to the people of Arizona for refusing to establish a paid state holiday for "Dr." Martin Luther King. We've long known that King was a socialist, a fellow traveler of communists, a lecher, and the man most responsible for replacing limited, forced segregation in a few states with totalitarian forced integration in all 50. Freedom of association was never a Kingian alternative.

Now we know that he was also a plagiarist. The Trilateralist *Wall Street Journal*, which broke the story in an attempt to put the proper liberal spin on it, tried to preempt a far fuller expose in the January issue of *Chronicles* magazine.

King stole, shows *Chronicles*, virtually his whole doctoral dissertation. The only time he stopped paraphrasing without attribution, and started stealing directly, was when the ideas were difficult.

Who could doubt that if the people of the 46 states with forced MLK holidays had the chance, they too would refuse to establish what is in fact a Martin Luther Knave day? ●

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